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114 made it hard for novices like ourselves to walk from hamlet
[133] to hamlet and therefore practically impossible to keep in touch with all daily happenings in the tribe. To visit the gardens which were on the edge of the tribe's territory was
[124] for us a day's task. For this reason most of our data were gathered from members of the hamlet in which we lived.[20]

122 The language barrier presented a considerable difficulty.
124 Luckily, shortly before we arrived, a dozen or so of the younger natives had returned from working on European plantations or in the gold fields and could therefore speak pidgin English. We set about mastering this language and at the end of two months could speak it fluently. Although most of our information was obtained through this medium, we undertook also to learn the native language and by the end of a few months were able to speak it haltingly and understand everyday conversation. By the time I left, seven months after arrival, I was able to carry on an extended conversation, still haltingly, but well enough to exchange ideas and obtain information on the less recondite subjects.

• 128 On returning to New Haven I presented an analysis and description of the material gathered at Kwoma as a doctoral dissertation to the faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University. During 1938–39 a fellowship from the Institute of Human Relations enabled me to study stimulus-response psychology under Professor Clark Hull. The knowledge of learning theory gained from him and from Drs. Neal E. Miller and O. H. Mowrer seemed to me crucial for the development of an adequate theory of socialization; consequently as a member of the Institute staff I reanalyzed my data in the light of this theory and am here presenting the results. I have been much helped by suggestions from my colleagues, particularly Professors Dollard, Murdock, and Miller. Since I had little knowledge of learning theory before going into the field, crucial data were frequently not gathered, an unfortunate but unavoidable circumstance. It is hoped, how-

[20] The rôles which we played in the tribe and hamlet will be described in detail in the first chapter, as well as the informants from whom most of our material was gathered.

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PREFACE

THIS monograph has two purposes: first, to present the data gathered on Kwoma culture, and, second, to present a theory of the process of socialization. In accordance with this dual purpose, the book has been divided into two parts, the first descriptive, the second theoretical. In the descriptive part, after an introductory chapter in which the setting of the study is presented, an attempt has been made to describe the culture as it unfolds itself to an individual born into Kwoma society. The cultures of infancy, of the period of weaning, of childhood, of adolescence, and finally of adulthood are described. The data in each of these chapters have been organized according to the drives[1] involved. Social habits related to hunger, elimination, sex, and pain have been described in that order. Since many customs are associated with several of these drives, this organization could not be strictly adhered to. Those habits motivated by acquired drives, such as fear, anger, the wish to help, and the desire for prestige, have been described where it seemed most appropriate. The second part opens with a chapter in which the various techniques of teaching observed at Kwoma are elucidated and defined in terms of learning theory. This is followed by a chapter which presents the results of an inquiry into the manner in which Kwoma children are taught supernatural beliefs. This inquiry is made in terms of learning theory, teaching techniques, and the conditions of the culture, the society, and the environment which exist at Kwoma.

The idea for this research was suggested by Professor John Dollard. As a result of attending his seminars, it became clear to me that, although culture was assumed by anthropologists and sociologists to be transmitted by a social rather than a genetic process, there was no adequate theory

[1] For the use of the concepts of *drive* and *acquired drive*, see chap. vii, pp. 173-174.

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ever, that this pioneering attempt to apply learning theory to anthropological data will suggest methods of gaining a better understanding of the process of socialization. 128

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June, 1941.

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getting the wood or water on days when their mothers are busy with some other task, and are punished if they do not. One day Buka forgot to get firewood, and Wof, her father, beat her for her negligence, when he returned and found none.

Children of both sexes participate in the work of gardening[7] by helping to clear the site. It is their duty, together with the women and old men, to clear the ground of underbrush while the adult men are in the treetops lopping off the branches. In contrast to some of the other gardening tasks reported later, children are expected to help with this work and are scolded by their parents and older siblings if they do not. Toward the end of childhood the boys are allowed to climb some of the smaller trees and try their hand at "man's" work.

In the process of breaking the ground and planting, the children usually accompany their parents to the garden site and watch the work. The older children sometimes help by putting the seed beside the hills. The younger ones, on the other hand, are likely to get bored and to retire to the edge of the forest to play. Children are forbidden actually to put seed yams in the ground, for only an adult who has been elected to *Nokwi*[8] may do this. When the yam shoots break the ground and it is time to hang stringers up which the vines may climb, the family again goes to the garden, the women carrying the split liana stringers and the men draping them from tree limbs. The older girls help their mothers by carrying a small bundle, the boys their fathers and older brothers by keeping them supplied with lianas. If the boys get tired of this and wish to play, the men carry on by themselves. Ham and Mey, for instance, on one occasion helped for about an hour and played during the rest of the morning. Weeding is the responsibility of adult women, and girls only help if they wish to. When the yams are harvested the children render more effective assistance, the boys in picking

[7] Gardening and other economic tasks in which the child participates will be described in more detail in succeeding chapters.

[8] *Nokwi* is the highest stage of the yam cult.

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him. As a result, none of my Kwoma friends would speak to me or bid me good-by.

In so far as we were included in the social structure of the Kwoma, we were known as *masta bilong Rumbima*. This meant that we belonged to the Rumbima hamlet of Hongwam subtribe, a natural consequence of the position of our house and the frequency of our contacts with Rumbima people. We were also placed in the kinship structure, being assigned to the Hayamakwo sib, Mangwiyow lineage, and Asanamp family line as younger brothers of Wof. Logically this should have made us *older brothers* to everyone else of the parent generation in the hamlet, but actually we were called *younger brother* by most of them. Those of the first descending generation called us *elder* or *younger uncle*, except Mey, Gwiyap, and Mar who frequently called us *father*. The fact that we were not married, but were apparently older than any unmarried Kwoma should be, made our position in the maturation hierarchy somewhat anomalous. We were sometimes classed as adults and sometimes as adolescents. The latter tendency was accentuated by the fact that we did not know the culture but were learning it.

With this short account of the environment and of the various groups into which the Kwoma divide themselves, with this indication of our chief informants and brief description of our position in Kwoma society, the task of describing the habits which a Kwoma learns as he passes from stage to stage along his life cycle may now be undertaken. The framework presented in this chapter has but limited meaning for the infant, more for the child, and gains full significance only when adulthood is reached. The following chapters are an attempt to present the culture as it unfolds to the maturing individual at Kwoma.

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food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife.

Gardening is an occupation which involves the coöperative endeavors of several persons.[4] The basic gardening group consists of the members of two or more closely related households, typically a father and his adult sons and their wives and children, or two or more adult brothers and their families. Sometimes a man will make a garden with his paternal uncle. Each adult male in the group has an equal share in the garden set aside for him and his family, the section being marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground. Each section is subdivided in the same way for every member of each family except the infants. This group coöperates in all phases of gardening. The males and females, children, adolescents, and adults have differing tasks allotted to them, but they work as a coöperative unit under the direction of the boss gardeners, the adult males of the group. A new function for the man is, therefore, to take the responsibility for planning and organizing gardening activities.

Some of the gardening tasks are more effectively performed by a group larger than the gardening group. The Kwoma have a work-bee system to take care of this need. Whenever the boss gardeners decide that they need help on some phase of gardening, either in clearing the site, breaking the ground, or harvesting the crop, they gather together enough food for a feast. They and their families collect a surplus of sago flour and provide meat, preferably a wild pig. If no one has succeeded in spearing a pig, they process a still greater surplus of sago flour, trade it for fish from the river natives, and use this instead of pork. When they have gathered this supply of flour and meat, they announce, both on the house tamberan gongs and by passing the word around, a work bee for the following day and request their

[4] If all the details of the technique of gardening were presented here, the main theme—socialization—would be buried in a welter of detail. Only the major processes of gardening will therefore be presented, leaving the details for another publication.

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619 [648]

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14] [692]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved. 423 621 692 578 [602] [613]

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a 423 611 428

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

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CHAPTER VII

THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION

THE previous chapters have stressed the particular customs which Kwoma society chooses to transmit to its children, the categories of persons who teach them, and the stage in the life cycle of the individual to which these customs apply. The purpose has been to present the data on these aspects of Kwoma life so that they might be useful for comparative or historical purposes.

The present chapter is devoted primarily to an inquiry into the nature of the transmission of culture and to a psychological analysis of the manner in which this transmission takes place. Although Kwoma data are employed in this analysis and the statements are made in terms of these data, the purpose is to develop hypotheses concerning the process of socialization which have significance not alone for the Kwoma but for all cultures. It is obvious that such hypotheses, validated by only a single society, cannot be considered more than tentative. Since the data with which to test these hypotheses in other societies have not yet been reported in the anthropological literature, they are presented in this form, primarily in the hope that they may be sufficiently suggestive to be tested by those future fieldworkers who become interested in a theory of the transmission of culture.

Were the transmission of culture a genetic process, it would be expedient to turn to the biologist for a basic theory of socialization. Anthropologists have demonstrated, however, that the behavior of peoples in various societies is not instinctive but cultural; it is a matter of habits. Since a habit is something which is learned, it is evident that a theory of learning must form the basis for an understanding of the process of socialization.

The theory of learning developed by psychologists has been demonstrated to apply both to animals and to men in Western society. It may be assumed that this theory also

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or any other response which Buka might make when she should be getting firewood can be described as not right responses. When Mes warned Kwos not to play with a cartridge, "playing with the cartridge" was the wrong response, while doing anything else would be the not wrong responses. Teachers normally describe the specific act, whether it be right or wrong, and refer to the not right or not wrong responses as the negative of the specific act. Sometimes they exemplify the not right or not wrong, by stating a specific act in the negative category. For example, in the above cases Wof may have specified playing as one of the not right acts which Buka did, or Mes might have specified joining the play group as a not wrong response. Teachers normally try to make their pupils learn to make a right response or to make a not wrong response. The other two categories, not right and wrong, denote behavior which the teacher wishes to prevent, but which he can prevent only by teaching the pupil an incompatible habit, i.e., right or not wrong, respectively. This will be illustrated in the cases to be analyzed below.

In socializing their pupils, Kwoma teachers use various techniques, all of which make practical use of the paradigm of learning presented above.[16] Some of these techniques stress motivation, some the response, some the cues, and some the rewards, but the whole process is implicit in all of them. Kwoma teachers use different techniques for different situations; the kind of habit to be taught, the age and maturity of the pupil, and the kin relationship between teacher and pupil are some of the factors that determine which technique shall be used. The following presentation does not purport to be a complete list of the methods of teaching employed at Kwoma nor a full account of the situations in which they are used, but is rather an analysis and description of the more important ones observed.[17]

[16] Since pupils in our society learn by the same mechanisms as do Kwoma pupils, it is not surprising that many of the techniques of teaching in the two societies are similar. In fact, the following techniques will seem quite obvious to anyone who has been either a parent or a teacher.

[17] The following theory of teaching techniques was not worked out before the data were gathered. For this reason the cases analyzed below were not

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121 861 Unless the essentials for learning are already provided by the interaction of the environment and the pupil, they must be supplied by the teacher. In other words, when such conditions are not already present, the teacher, in order to change the habit structure of the pupil in the desired manner, must provide *motivation*, *guidance*, and *reward*. Each of the various teaching techniques employed at Kwoma may be classed under one or another of these three categories. The following table presents this classification:

1. Providing motivation
   - *a.* punishing
   - *b.* scolding
   - *c.* threatening
   - *d.* warning
   - *e.* inciting
2. Providing guidance
   - *a.* leading
   - *b.* instructing
   - *c.* demonstrating
3. Providing reward
   - *a.* giving
   - *b.* helping
   - *c.* praising

A Kwoma teacher must often provide motivation in order to make his pupils learn the habits which he wishes to teach them. He employs five techniques for doing so: punishing, scolding, threatening, warning, and inciting.

Punishment is not infrequently employed by a Kwoma teacher when other methods fail to correct the behavior of a pupil or when his behavior is particularly annoying to the teacher. A teacher punishes a child after he has made a wrong, or a not right response. The mode of punishment is usually either a blow on the back with the fist or a blow on the legs with a stick. The following cases will serve to illustrate its use.

Wof left early one morning with his second wife, Chinuwa, to work in his garden. Since his first wife, Kaya, had previ-

[128] carefully followed up, and observations with which to test the predictions arising from the analysis were frequently not made. The rather complete record of daily events which was kept did, however, provide data to check some of them.

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Preface

128 This manuscript consists of the journal I kept while doing field work
114 on a tribe which eventually came to be known as the Kwoma. It covers the
121 period between September 1936 - May 1937. The late Professor Stephen Reed,
then a fellow graduate student, accompanied me up the Sepik River to Kwoma
territory where we worked together for 4½ months. At this time he left be-
cause his thesis problem required a comparison of the Kwoma with a more
acculturated New Guinea peoples, whereas I was interested in an intensive
128 study of socialization among the Kwoma. Most of the diary is my journal
with only slight editing to clarify shorthand and some of the pidgin English
expressions. Some of these, however, have been left in, and a glossary provided
as a key to understanding them. Some of the native terms are also left in the
text. They are, however, usually defined in context, but if not, they should
appear in the glossary of native terms. (Refer to pages 228-244.)

Although most of the journal is mine, in several instances Mr. Reed, or Tip, as he is referred to in the journal, took a turn. It will be noticed that their understanding of the social culture of the Kwoma is quite confused. At the beginning of the journal, we are at first under the impression that "Waskuk and Bangus" are either moieties of some tribe or neighboring tribes. It eventually dawned on us that they are divisions imposed upon the Kwoma by the British patrol officers. (Where they got the terms I was never able to find out, but they in fact had no reference to any structural reality of the Kwoma culture, except perhaps that Waskuk was translated with Bangus; and Waskuk, by the way, is the name which appears on Australian maps, and is also the name used by Margaret Mead who had previously visited the Kwoma). In addition to the journal, the case histories of two of my close friends and assistants have been appended.

128 These case histories are of their daily life as I saw it, and my interaction with them, rather than a retrospective history. Finally, there are some field notes particularly on material culture hitherto unpublished.

Many people have helped in turning this document into understandable English, particularly Jane Martin, who really has made order out of chaos. Had it not been for her, the manuscript would still be filed in one of my bottom drawers with a memo,"something ought to be done about this sometime."

000 yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

796 While John was joining in and trying to learn the dance step and songs
123 (which amused but did not anger the men) I sat in the house tamberan with
534 the older men and those not dancing and tried my skill with the wooden
trumpets. These are blown sporadically as are the flutes, and as the
[177] ordinary gongs are beaten. The trumpets have an interesting history. They
were captured from men from Avatip (on the Sepik below Malu) by the
grandfathers of the present older generation. They are finely carved wooden
cornucopias with a crocodile head motif at the closed end. The lip-piece
is on the side. I blew it quite easily the first time, but the men seem
[614] to make very hard work of it. The trumpets are now in the custody of
Rumbina sib.

796 In the late afternoon the men began to drop out to ornament themselves
in earnest. One man joined the dance with a man-killing spear, and the
[123] others increased the tempo. At about this time we began to get the feeling
that we were not wanted much longer, so when a couple of the men picked up
the two brace of yams and coconuts which had been given us, we took the hint
and headed for home.

• 128 These bare outlines of what we are doing and finding are becoming less
and less satisfactory. We know that it's the details that interest the
anthropologist, but to record all of some in this would be too long a task.
So we will skip over many of our notes on the last ceremony and become
796 impressionistic. At these ceremonies which we have seen so far, there
[171] has been nothing to compare with the amounts of food assembled for
Melanesian and Polynesian feasts. Everyone has a good meal and perhaps
a little left over, but one pig is made to go a long way. Another thing
which has struck us is the monotony of their singsings. There seems to be

114 February 11, 1936. Since the last installment, there had been a trip to Yambon where the mosquitoes were plentiful and the heat intense: a long forlorn wait at Ambunti for a pinnace to take us down the river for Christmas, but none came; a trip to Tangwishamp where they told me that the next village had murdered Mr. Eve and all his party, which got me pretty scared; a visit from Bob Overall, a recruiter, who bought five boys here and entertained us for three days with tales of his experiences on the river and elsewhere; and a trip to the Yellow river station by Tip, who will write about it later in this document.

128 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarise the culture

133 briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Feilungua range. The Sepik river runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a s, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.

[137] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1520 ft. above sea level.

794 partly by the fact that membership in the two cults is maintained at an
[241] approximate equality. These cults are connected with yams in that the cults are thought to be essential to the growth of these vegetables, and
[534] they are held two yam plantings apart. The second stage is the nokwi which
[241] introduces mysteries of the water drum to its members. This is also connected with yams in that the young men are initiated into this only after they have planted their first yams--itself a sacred rite.

754 Black magic is constantly being practiced and everyone in the culture is always careful of food leavings and blood which are the two most important
[182] materials for the hands of the operator. This belief is very strongly
[154] integrated in the culture and seems to function in the expression of aggressions and to offer a readymade explanation of neurotic anxiety.

775 The dfad dwell on the top of a nearby mountain in a topsyturvy existence. These ghosts chase and frighten people at night but do not kill them. They sometimes take the form of a bird or animal in the day time. In particular they hover around a dead man, for their job is to escort him
[764] to the land of the dead. (There is a double funeral, first an exposure
[765] on platform and secondly, burial of bones beneath floor of the house.)

776 There are other types of supernatural creatures who dwell in rocks, waterholes, etc., in the guise of snakes. They cause wind, rain, thunder, lightening and the rainbow, and are dangerous to man in that if they are disturbed they will shoot him with a sago needle which is painful but not
[794] fatal. These beings are associated with the men's cult. The uninitiated are told that the esoteria are made and operated by these creatures.

. . . . . .

128 This is the bare outline of the culture in itself incomplete. Some of the interstices and interrelations we have the information to fill in and others we have not.

115 584 883 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time he returned; if not he would marry her.

February 3, 1937.

115 752 123 657 The sore on Oviyap's leg, which developed when we were still at Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times before he has suggested going in to the station. Wes was going in today to meet Tip so I decided to send Oviyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Mar had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

128 133 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarise the culture briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Peilungua range. The Sepik River runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plains which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a x, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing. [132 241] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1320 ft. above sea level.